THE ARGENTINE CRISIS BY CLAUDIO VELIZ

THE Nation

July 2, 1955
20c

Mr. Nixon's "Man to See"

The Amazing Mr. Chotiner

by William L. Roper

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Russia's New Leaders *Merle Kling*
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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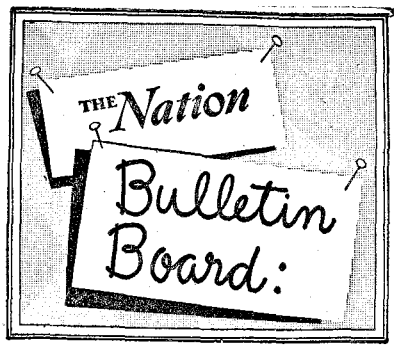

KAY BOYLE, one of America's finest novelists and a frequent Nation contributor—her short story, A Puzzled Race, appeared in the June 4 issue—will be giving courses in creative writing this summer at the Thomas School in Rowayton, Connecticut. In addition, she will offer special fortnightly evening classes and individual lessons. Interested readers can get further details by writing directly to Miss Boyle at Little House, 98 Wilson Avenue, Rowayton, Connecticut. (Miss Boyle's new novel, "The Seagull on the Step," has just been published by Alfred A. Knopf.)

WITH HIS ARTICLE on Schiller in this issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo returns to his regular writing schedule following an absence of several weeks due to an operation on his eye. Now completely recovered, he will send stories on the "meeting at the summit" in July and on the United Nations atomic-energy conference in August. Both meetings are scheduled for Geneva.

FROM TIME TO TIME readers inquire about the state of our circulation. I am happy to say we have maintained the level of paid subscriptions. However, newsstand sales present a problem. The newsstand business has developed into a frantic scramble for space by the major publications, which need the circulation in order to maintain their advertising guaranties, and by the pocket-book industry. As a result, the smaller publications are literally crowded off the stands or hidden from view by the mass-circulation magazines, which are infinitely more profitable to the dealers. The Nation is distributed by the American News Company, which itself has been facing increased competition from other major distributors. The result is that American News, seeking ways to cut overhead, is distributing fewer copies of less profitable publications. Even where they are distributed, sales are lost because the copies are not displayed. As sales are cut, the amount of copies distributed goes down. It is a never-ending cycle. Frankly, if you want to be sure of getting The Nation regularly, I suggest you subscribe. The rates are $7 for one year; $12 for two years; and $17 for three years.

AS IF LIFE weren't difficult enough for a liberal journal, I'm informed we have a new competitor. Ian Ballantine of Ballantine Books, which publishes "The Mad Reader," a collection of satires on comic strips in pocketbook form, showed me the following letter from a man in Evanston, Illinois: "I have just enjoyed a perusal of 'The Mad Reader'. . . . It seems to satisfy that urge to find something different and believe me—this is! So, say I, to hell with The Nation and the New Republic—for I have at least found my medium." To make matters worse, I checked our files and discovered the man is a subscriber. Now we'll be hovering anxiously over the renewals to see what he does. (And, by the way, have you sent in your renewal yet? Summer is a lean time in the publishing business and renewals during July and August are doubly appreciated.)

HIGH LIGHTS of last Sunday's successful dinner forum on "Atoms for Peace" will appear in the July 9 or July 16 issue.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

From Madame Sun Yat-sen

Dear Sirs: I see from press reports that at a United States Senate committee hearing concerned with Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Powell, respected American journalists long associated with the China Monthly Review in Shanghai, Senator Jenner saw fit to mention my name. He made a blanket insinuation that Americans associated with me or my work over the years, of whom there were many, were somehow traitors to their country—and this compels me to make a comment.

Everyone familiar with China knows of the organizations I had the privilege of leading at various times—the China Defense League, China Welfare Fund, and China Welfare Institute. They made it possible for friends from all over the world to join us in medical and other services to the Chinese people in critical periods of our history, when China was subjected to Japanese invasion, civil war aggravated by foreign intervention, famine, and economic ruin. This work, because of the spirit in which it was always conducted, was also a symbol of friendship between the peoples based on the right of each to build its own destiny.

During the anti-Japanese war, the sponsors of our China Defense League included Americans of every point of view, from Paul Robeson to Clare Boothe Luce, as well as such international figures as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The organization with which we then had most contact in the United States was headed by Mrs. Anna Roosevelt, mother of the late President. Afterward some of the Americans who then helped our work began to think that they could dictate to China the government she ought to live under; so our ways parted. Others dropped away because of the pressure they were subjected to in the United States. Some who continued to act on their conviction that the Chinese and American peoples could and should live in peace on the basis of mutual respect, and who spoke up against any encroachment, were subjected to vicious persecution.

The case of the Powells, whose American magazine published in China for thirty years espoused such ideas and who did not fear to bring them forward among their own countrymen upon their return, will be recognized everywhere as an outstanding instance of such persecution. Mr. Powell is being threatened with "treason" charges, his wife has been caused to lose her job by public baiting, and even their infant children have been dragged in. Senators Jenner and Welker and other inquisitors in the case are apparently pursuing the wider purpose of presenting as "traitors" all who speak up for peaceful understanding among peoples pursuing differing political and economic paths.

Are we to think that the only Americans their government regards as patriotic are those whose interest in our country is confined to scouting for war and the subversion of institutions we have established after a century of struggle, and which we have found by practice to suit us very well? If so, the situation in America is a very bad one for world peace. I for one, and I know this to be true of the vast majority of our countrymen, do not believe that reasonable and liberty-loving Americans share such a view.

In China, to speak for good relations and peaceful coexistence internationally, the good old principle of "live and let live," is regarded as being as much a part of patriotism as standing up for our inalienable right to arrange affairs in our own territory. We think this is a part of patriotism in all countries. The Powell case, like others in the United States, indicates how violent an effort is being made there to deny this axiom of humanity and common sense, so long accepted in

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Special Forum Supplement

Extensive extracts from the speeches made at *The Nation's* ninetieth-anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace, held the evening of June 19 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, will be carried in a special supplement to be published in connection with our next issue. Meanwhile the editors want to take this opportunity to extend heartfelt thanks to all who helped make the occasion an auspicious one—the eminent co-chairmen, the sponsoring committee, the speakers, chairman Harold Taylor, and the more than eight hundred friends who attended. *The Nation* and the Nation Associates have furnished the occasion for many forums in the past; none surpassed this one in the intellectual level of the speeches and in the responsiveness of the audience.

The forum was also significant in another way. It revealed the hunger of sentient Americans for free and open discussion of the problems affecting their destiny and the world's. "Your meeting was like a breath of fresh air," a friend said at the affair's close. "One got the feeling that people can talk again from their hearts." Perhaps it was a case of "summit freshness" percolating downward. In any case it was gratifying to us on *The Nation,* who have often felt that we were fighting in a rather isolated sector in the last few years, to realize that we have never really been alone and will be less and less so with the passage of time.

Progress at San Francisco

The United Nations tenth-anniversary reunion at San Francisco was neither the commemorative get-together its organizers intended nor the political free-for-all they feared. Politeness was the general rule, but politics obtruded almost from the start. It was not only the Russians who ignored the ground rules. Such rasping local problems as Kashmir, Arab-Israel hostility, and North African nationalism were raised by bitterly interested parties, the Soviet Union was harshly attacked by Cuba, and George Yeh, Formosa's aggressive foreign minister, tossed into the arena the explosive issue of Communist China's menace to the rest of Asia. Several speakers, Dr. Yeh included, were called to order by Dr. Van Kleffens, the presiding officer. But it was Mr. Molotov, in his long speech on Wednesday, who focused attention and debate on the central international question: who is to blame for continued East-West tensions and what are the proper means of reducing them. Significantly, he was not admonished by the chair. The Molotov speech was provocative neither in language nor tone; nor did it name names. But it added up to an all-round defense of Soviet moves toward ending the cold war and an attack on Western policies allegedly blocking them. It made a reply by Mr. Dulles inevitable. And by the time his position had been reinforced by M. Pinay of France and Mr. Pearson of Canada, the "commemorative" note had been pretty well submerged.

In spite of this the results of the San Francisco meeting were more good than harmful. It provided an opportunity for private conferences in which plans for the "summit" meeting at Geneva were—despite polemics—harmoniously completely. It emphasizes the overpowering demand for peace that presses on all of them. And if the U. N. itself was temporarily shoved somewhat to the side by the political rehearsal for Geneva, it was brought abruptly back into the picture by the Big Four's request, at the close of the commemorative meeting, that Dag Hammarskjold handle all the arrangements for the coming talks. The U. N. Secretary General's plea for "private diplomacy" practiced within the framework of the world organization seems to have borne fruit very quickly.

Not With a Bang

Senator McCarthy has unwittingly created an extraordinary freedom of negotiation and maneuver for the Administration at the forthcoming Big Four conference. The President and Mr. Dulles will not be able to plead that the sound and fury of domestic demagogues interfered with their freedom to negotiate and if necessary to compromise. By presenting a resolution which would in effect have advised the President not to attend the conference, Senator McCarthy provided the Democrats with a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate their responsibility in the matter of foreign relations, and at the same time to dramatize the decline in influence of the Republican Party's right wing. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected McCarthy's resolution unanimously, but the Democrats insisted that it be brought to a vote on the floor, where it was resoundingly defeated by a roll-call vote of seventy-seven to four. During the debate Senator McCarthy said he was "surprised, shocked, and disappointed" at Senator Knowland's opposition to the resolution. "It is not the position of the Republican Party," he added, "to backtrack, whine, and whimper when it touches the hot stove of Communist aggression."

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Senator Knowland was on his feet instantly shouting that he was not going to permit anyone to say that he was a whiner or a whimperer. "I'll lay my record of opposition to communism alongside his," he said. "Not today you won't," McCarthy snapped.

Some future historian will be grateful to both Senators for staging this scene, for it marks, in most dramatic fashion, the nearly complete isolation of McCarthy as a force in the Republican Party in Congress. Only the "four mule men" of the G. O. P.—Jenner, Langer, Malone, and McCarthy—voted aye on the resolution. One of the most surprising aspects of the swift decline of the Republican right wing is the haste with which in the last three weeks Senator Knowland has been trying to scurry back to a position of relative safety from the far end of the isolationist, anti-United Nations limb to which he had so recklessly advanced. No doubt the senior Senator from California has been impressed by the tremendous interest and enthusiasm which Californians have shown in the anniversary ceremonies of the United Nations in San Francisco.

What Price Allies?

The Associated Press reports that in the last two years nearly $1,500,000,000 in foreign funds—the bulk of it from the United States and from thirty-three other U. N. member states—have been poured into the "rebuilding and rearming" of South Korea. Since the population of South Korea is approximately 19,000,000, the foreign aid amounts to about $40 per capita per year for the two-year period. No one would deny the pressing needs of the Korean people. What needs emphasis is that one-half the total foreign aid—about $720,000,000—was in the form of direct United States military aid to the Seoul government.

Last month the Senate approved the Administration's current $3,500,000,000 foreign-aid program, comprising $2,595,500,000 for military aid, $337,000,000 for economic aid, and $273,000,000 for miscellaneous expenditures. Also included is the President's special fund of $200,000,000 for Asian economic development to be expended over a period of years in an area where hunger is the dominating factor in human lives. The $200,000,000 indicates the scale of official American concern with that part of Asia lying outside our protectorates—South Korea, Formosa, and South Vietnam. The billions indicate our main interest—the strengthening of our allies for a possible war against communism.

But it seems legitimate to question whether the United States is choosing the right allies in Asia. South Korea persistently feuds with our other great ally, Japan; in South Vietnam the Ngo Dinh Diem regime is maneuvering the United States against NATO ally France; and the Nationalists on Formosa are seeking to convince Washington that India is practically as dangerous as the Chinese Communists themselves. But if war came, how much would Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Ngo Dinh Diem be worth if the Japanese

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and Indians were neutral or on the other side? May we not in any event be paying the wrong currency to the wrong people, considering that we hold a seven-billion-dollar agricultural surplus in our storehouses, and so many millions of Asians are hungry? There are numerous signs that Asians prefer butter to guns.

THE ARGENTINE CRISIS

Peron Rides the Storm . . . *by Claudio Veliz*

FEW developments in Latin American politics have been more distorted and misunderstood abroad than the struggle between President Peron and the Catholic church in Argentina. To suggest, for instance, that Peron has greatly weakened his position by attacking the Catholic establishment is to misunderstand the character of religious belief in Argentina and the history of that country for the past century and a half. Far from being a solid outpost of Catholicism, Argentina, like other Latin American nations, acquired its independence after a bitter struggle against not only the Spanish Empire but its powerful ally, the Catholic church. General San Martin, the liberator of Argentina, was branded as a "shameless heretic" by the Argentine clergy, who compared him to that other Martin, "the devilish Luther." For more than half a century Argentina did not even have diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and until 1946, when Peron established it, religious education was forbidden in the public schools.

Until six months ago, when Peron first attacked the activities of the church, the strongest opposition to his regime came precisely from the anti-clerical Radical Party. Now he has brought this important group to his side, and it is probable that he will emerge from the present crisis more powerful than ever.

When Peron became President, there were few doubts about where his real strength lay. While claiming a large measure of popular support, he relied heavily on the aid of the church and army and on at least the tacit acquiescence of the great landholders. Since then, the situation has changed considerably, and the only traditionalist group that remains solidly on Peron's side is the army. This realignment has been brought about by the strong reformist features of the Peronist program.

Peron has survived two general elections since he came to power. Whether these elections were free or not is open to question, but in both he had the wholehearted support of the Catholic church. Priests thundered from their pulpits against the Radical Party candidates, calling them "atheists," instruments of freemasonry, and the like, and asking their parishioners to vote for General Peron, the Christian leader, creator of "justicialism," the Christian alternative to communism and capitalism. The help of the church was effective, and Peron repaid it generously. Religious education was made compulsory in the public schools, the state subsidy for Catholic schools was increased, and unprecedented encouragement was given to the activities of the church.

Between 1946 and 1952 church and army were united in their support of the regime. The landowners and the traditionalists in general comforted themselves with the thought that Peron was just one more demagogue who appealed for popular support in blood and thunder speeches but, knowing which side his bread was buttered on, did little to translate talk of reform into action.

The strongest ally of the church was Evita Peron. She was the devout member of the family. When she visited Europe she was unable to obtain an audience with the British monarch but was received by the Pope. Her death in 1952 marked the end of the honeymoon between Peron and the *ancien regime*. Soon her proteges in the trade-union movement and other government departments were dismissed; even her brother chose suicide when told that his financial dealings would be investigated.

This purge was followed by the enforcement of reform laws which had long lain dormant—among them a minimum-wage law and a law making membership in a union compulsory for farm workers. The latter was a direct blow against the landed interests. In Argentina as elsewhere in South America the peasants have traditionally "belonged" to the landowner and the church—their bodies to the landowner, their souls to the priest. Peron's attempt to enforce these laws aroused bitter opposition among the landowners, who went so far as to threaten a nation-wide stoppage of agricultural production. Peron answered by calling on the people and the trade unions to support his reforms. In a famous speech in Buenos Aires he so incited the multitudes that they stormed the sumptuous premises of the Jockey Club and razed the building.

With the countryside opened to trade-union influence and political indoctrination the church found itself in a dilemma: either it must remain passive and allow the Peronists to deprive it of all power over the peasantry or it must enter the struggle and defend itself with the more up-to-date weapons of Christian socialism. By that time, 1952-53, the activities of the South American branches of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions had been intensified with great success. The Utrecht secretariat of the confederation inaugurated a widespread campaign of proselytizing in which Latin America occupied a prominent place. In Argentina the Christian trade unions came into conflict with the government-spon-

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sored General Confederation of Workers, and as a result Peron launched his first attack on the Catholic church "for interfering in political affairs." The church overestimated its power and tried to fight back. A Christian Democratic Party was formed which was expected to oppose Peron in the coming elections. The dictator answered by attacking the Catholic establishment at one of its weakest points—the divorce and legitimacy laws.

Divorce was illegal in Argentina as it still is in Chile, but those with enough money to obtain the services of a lawyer could easily find one of the many loopholes in the law. The people knew this and felt there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. By striking at this injustice Peron, far from weakening his popularity, has increased it markedly. The bill giving equal rights to legitimate and illegitimate children has had the same effect. These reforms were followed by the abolition of compulsory religious education in the public schools, the withdrawal of state subsidies from church schools, the abolition of the tax-exemption privileges of the Catholic church, and other anti-Catholic regulations. With these decrees Peron has weakened the opposition of the large anti-clerical element in Argentina which had heretofore sided with the Radical Party.

It is idle to try to relate last week's uprising to the religious controversy. There was probably some communication between rebel leaders in the navy and church authorities, but it is quite clear that the initiative and the leadership lay outside the church. The conspirators mistakenly believed that the time was ripe for revolt. Argentine navy officers are recruited from the upper layers of society, while the army has been traditionally a "shopkeepers' " preserve. In 1953 several changes were made in the Admiralty after an earlier naval plot had been uncovered. No one in Argentina was surprised that the navy was the one to revolt while the army remained loyal.

The greatest mistake of Peron's enemies and also of the majority of foreign observers has been to underestimate the dictator's power. To think that Peron could be overthrown by a navy coup was as unrealistic as it would have been to believe that Mussolini could be overthrown by an uprising of the Italian navy in 1936. Even the useless massacre caused by the strafing of Buenos Aires by naval planes will probably work to Peron's advantage; he will have a tacit mandate to take strong measures to suppress disorder. Thus the dictatorship will become more firmly intrenched, and Peron, a youthful sixty, will be able to look forward to several more years in power with the army and the trade unions solidly behind him.

NIXON'S "MAN TO SEE"

Meet Mr. Chotiner . . *by William L. Roper*

ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1952, the *Wall Street Journal* described Murray Chotiner, forty-five-year-old Beverly Hills attorney and politician, as Vice-President Nixon's closest adviser. Chotiner, whose firm can boast that it has had some of California's best-known "bookies" as its clients, managed Nixon's campaigns for the Senate and for the Vice-Presidency. He is likely to be Nixon's chief brain-truster in the campaign of 1956, whether the G. O. P.'s boy wonder is running for the Presidency or merely to succeed himself.

During the 1952 campaign it was Chotiner who saw Nixon through the crisis caused by the revelation that he had been the beneficiary of a $25,000 fund to defray miscellaneous political expenses: Chotiner stage-managed the famous TV speech in which the Vice-Presidential candidate in an emotion-choked voice acknowledged the existence of the secret fund. It was Chotiner also who arranged for the pre-convention poll conducted by Nixon which did more than anything else to doom the Presidential chances of Governor Warren of California. The 23,000 letters sent out under government frank undoubtedly tipped the scales against Warren. Nixon's reward was his selection as Ike's running-mate.

According to Mrs. Nixon, Chotiner was with her husband in his hotel room in Chicago when Herbert Brownell telephoned that the "committee had met and unanimously agreed on Nixon." Chotiner was on hand too when forty G. O. P. leaders met with Nixon at dinner at the Malibu Beach home of Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles *Times,* to plan the strategy of the 1952 campaign in California. Governor Goodwin J. Knight of California says that he has dealt with Chotiner as Nixon's representative since 1950. Clearly the tie between Nixon and Chotiner is intimate and long-standing.

Despite the attention which the Vice-President's past political activities have invited, Chotiner, his master-mind, has been neglected by the California press. Consequently this man who has become a real power in California politics and acknowledged spokesman for the Nixon forces has remained something of a mystery. An investigation of his career reveals a number of interesting facts—for example, that the firm of Chotiner and Chotiner—Murray M. Chotiner and Albert J. Chotiner—appeared in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County in the period from 1949 to June 1, 1952, on behalf of the defendants in approximately 220 bookmaking cases. The criminal dockets of the Los Angeles Superior Court are so voluminous

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that it is difficult to check them thoroughly, but a preliminary examination indicates that these approximately 220 bookmaking cases were the only criminal cases in which the firm appeared in that period.

One of the notorious cases handled by Murray Chotiner grew out of the murder of Sam Rummel, the shrewd and influential attorney for the California racketeer Mickey Cohen. According to the Los Angeles *Examiner* of December 12, 1950, Sheriff's Captain Carl Pearson had just revealed that he and Sergeant Lawrence Schaffer of the Los Angeles County sheriff's office had held a secret rendezvous with Rummel shortly before the lawyer was killed. Pearson said he and Schaffer had discussed with Rummel certain information concerning the Guarantee Finance bookmaking scandal. The grand jury was scheduled to begin inquiry into the scandal on the morning after the rendezvous. The chief question was whether Guarantee Finance, a gigantic bookmaking syndicate, had paid $108,000 to certain officers for protection. When Pearson began to talk, Sergeant Schaffer realized that he was in a bad spot. So what did he do? He called for Murray Chotiner. Chotiner did his stuff, and Schaffer was soon in the clear again. The mystery of who got the $108,000 from the bookie syndicate and who murdered Sam Rummel before he could "talk" is still unsolved.

NIXON went to see Chotiner when he made his first try for political office in 1946, seeking to represent the Twelfth District of California in the United States Congress. A political amateur, he had taken on a veteran campaigner, Representative Jerry Voorhis. Mrs. Nixon later described this period in her husband's career as the time when he had only one suit.

Wearing his one suit, Nixon found Chotiner at the Knowland-for-Senator campaign headquarters and told his story. He was badly in need of finances, publicity, and a working campaign organization. He also needed a red-hot issue. Chotiner, who had been president of the California Republican Assembly in 1944 and chairman of the Southern California field organization for Governor Warren's campaign in 1942, was able to give the necessary help. Nixon soon became known as the man who was going to save America from the Communists.

The 1946 campaigns of both Knowland and Nixon showed that Chotiner had discovered a new way to make the Red smear an effective campaign weapon. Knowland faced stiff competition from Will Rogers, Jr. Seeking ammunition to use against Rogers, Chotiner discovered that several years ago the *People's World,* a California Communist daily, had boasted in a front-page editorial that Will Rogers, Jr., had contributed to its sustaining fund. Chotiner had the statement reproduced and arranged that William Richman, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, should send copies of it with a covering letter to other members of the committee. Immediate fireworks resulted. Richman was bitterly denounced and died of a heart attack. The trick, however, was successful in that it weakened Rogers's standing with many leading Democrats. The fact that young Rogers had demonstrated a high devotion to the United States and had resigned from Congress to serve in the army during World War II was overlooked by those duped by this smear.

In fairness to Senator Knowland, it should be pointed out that there is nothing to indicate that he knew of this low attack on his opponent. Knowland had repeatedly expressed himself as opposed to mud-slinging of all kinds. But if he was blind to Chotiner's methods, his father, Joseph Knowland, publisher of the Oakland *Tribune,* and other members of his campaign organization were soon disturbed by another aspect of Chotiner's operations.

At the time of this campaign (1946) Chotiner was attorney for and a member of the board of directors of the Lockwood-Shackelford Advertising Agency; he was also, of course, active in the Knowland campaign. To officials of the agency Chotiner suggested that fees for handling the billboard advertising should be split with him. These officials took a dim view of the proposal and reported the suggestion to Joseph Knowland, who insisted that the account remain in the hands of Lockwood-Shackelford, and it did. Chotiner, however, resigned as counsel and board member of the agency. When William Knowland won, all was forgiven, and in 1952 Chotiner was again employed in the Senator's campaign. After Knowland was successful in the primary, Chotiner accompanied Nixon on his nation-wide speaking tour.

Murray Chotiner

BY THAT time Nixon had become a master of his mentor's campaign strategy. No longer did Chotiner need to suggest that votes could be garnered by shooting oratorical fireworks at the Red flag and screaming "Treason!" By then Nixon's greatest worry was that Senator Joe McCarthy might steal the show.

Always jealous of his reputation as the No. 1 Red-hunter and the nemesis of Alger Hiss, Nixon was also disturbed by the rise of California's local champion Red-hunter, Jack Tenney. As chairman of the California legislature's un-American activities committee, Tenney had won the commendation of the Hearst papers and aroused Nixon's envy. So when Tenney ran for Congress in the twenty-second District in 1952, Nixon and Chotiner decided to eliminate him. Nixon threw his then impressive prestige behind Joseph F. Holt, the son of a wealthy dairyman who had contributed to Nixon's secret fund. Chotiner master-minded Holt's campaign.

In a letter to Cobina Wright, a columnist for the Los Angeles *Herald and Express,* published September 4, 1952, Chotiner boasted of his and Nixon's aid to Holt. He wrote: "I am convinced beyond any

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question that if it had not been for the support of Senator Nixon, Joseph Holt would not have been able to defeat Tenney."

It is significant that during the run-off contest the old Red charge was hurled at Holt's Democratic rival, Dean E. McHenry, a professor of political science at the University of California. This smear undoubtedly helped Holt to win. But afterward Dr. McHenry brought a libel suit and on May 25 of this year announced that he had received $5,000 and an apology in an out-of-court settlement.

CHOTINER'S success in combining the practice of criminal law and politics is amazing, for the two seldom mix well. Sometimes he has narrowly escaped coming a cropper. In 1952 he appointed his old friend Dave Cannon, who had been a defense counsel for certain members of the notorious Guarantee Finance "bookie" syndicate, to the key political job of chairman of an attorneys' committee for Knowland. Several Republican leaders raised their eyebrows at this, though in the end they let Chotiner get away with it. One still wonders what Cannon or his client, Guarantee Finance, could do for Knowland. After all, officials of the "bookie" syndicate had been convicted in a federal court only a few months before, and their position in the community was hardly of the kind to swing votes. Many California Republican leaders see nothing wrong with Chotiner's peculiar shenanigans. But when Maurice Shenker, a St. Louis attorney, tried to practice politics and criminal law at the same time in 1950, he was widely condemned. His case was different from Chotiner's: he was a Democrat.

In spite of all that Chotiner's political cunning has done to advance Nixon's fortunes, the lawyer-politico may prove to be the Vice-President's Jonah in 1956. Certainly he is the key figure in Nixon's long-standing feud with Governor Goodwin J. Knight of California. And Governor Knight, as head of the big California delegation, with seventy votes and an early place in the roll call, will wield decisive power at the Republican convention in San Francisco next year.

Under California law the consent of the candidate to whom a set of delegates is pledged must be filed with the Secretary of State before petitions can be circulated to place the slate on the ballot at the primary election. This will be held June 5, 1956. The law also provides that delegations can be organized "not more than ninety nor less than sixty days" before the Presidential primary. This means that the circulation of delegates' nomination papers would begin next March. Under the law, however, the delegation is merely pledged to support a given person for President. The Vice-President does not appear on the primary ballot. It is quite possible, therefore, that if Eisenhower should decide not to run again, a wild rush to organize delegations might start next January.

Recently Governor Knight, who was chosen as Republican spokesman at this year's Gridiron Club dinner in Washington, presented the President with a set of resolutions by the California Republican State Central Committee and other G.O.P. organizations urging him to seek reelection. Although one of the resolutions contained mild words of praise for Vice-President Nixon, it is a safe assumption that Governor Knight did not ask the President to urge Mr. Nixon to seek reelection. While in Washington, the Governor was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Nixon in an obvious attempt to put an end to the feud which has existed between the two men for some time. Not long before that the Governor had pointedly declined to appear at a luncheon honoring the Vice-President and chose, instead, to attend a luncheon and TV show with officials of the teamster's union. On this occasion, the Governor was accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor and the state's constitutional officers as well as by the members of the Republican state committee—indicating the degree to which Nixon has lost influence with the state organization.

Representative Hillings, a Nixon protege, has been quoted in *U. S. News and World Report* as saying that the reason G. O. P. candidates did not do better in California in 1954 was that "they got no help from the Governor." The feud came out into the open in 1954, when Knight and the Nixon forces clashed over the choice of a vice-chairman for the Republican State Central Committee. Knight won, but only after he had accused Chotiner of lying and had taken some bitter back talk from Hillings. Until the recent "love feast" luncheon in Washington, California political reporters were saying that "the Vice-President and the Governor just aren't speaking to each other—politically, that is."

If Nixon's interests are to be protected in San Francisco in 1956, he must have substantial representation in the California delegation. But since the delegation will be organized by Governor Knight, it is not likely to include many ardent Nixon supporters. Senators Knowland and Kuchel, on the other hand, will have generous representation on the delegation, although it is safe to say that Governor Knight will call the signals.

If the President chooses to run again, the delegation will be pledged to him, and he will undoubtedly be able to force the nomination of Nixon as Vice-President. If he declines to run, two rival delegations may be entered in the California primary, one pledged to Governor Knight, the other to Nixon. If the President should delay in making up his mind, Governor Knight would unquestionably enter a slate of delegates pledged to himself as California's "favorite son." Being on the scene and having more direct contact with the local Republican leadership than Nixon, Knowland, or Kuchel, the Governor has a distinct advantage. And he has another source of power in his strong ties with important elements in the labor movement.

GOVERNOR KNIGHT'S hostility is only one of the unpleasant political realities now facing the Vice-President. Recent Gallup polls have shown that voters prefer Adlai Stevenson to Nixon 61 to 39 per cent, and Senator Estes Kefauver to Nixon 58 to 42 per cent. Doubts that the President can be induced to run again have been strengthened by his talk at the breakfast of Republican women, by Senator Margaret Chase Smith's suggestion that he might not run, and by rumors that Stevenson will shortly announce his candidacy for the Democratic Party nomination.

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Nixon's popularity has declined among minority groups and independent voters. The political-fund scandal of 1952 is far from dead. His slanderous campaign against Democratic nominees in 1954 is certain to bring retaliation. Added to these liabilities is his relationship with Chotiner. Can the "Fighting Quaker" and his miracle man overcome these difficulties? Can they win Knight over? Will Governor Knight's labor friends ever accept Nixon? These are questions upon which Nixon's political future depends.

A closely related question, and one that should be of interest to the Democrats, is this: If President Eisenhower should decide to seek re-election and also insist on Nixon as his running mate, would he thereby run the risk of losing California's key block of electoral votes? In 1916 Charles Evans Hughes, favored to win, lost to Woodrow Wilson by ignoring the California political situation, and in 1948 the Dewey-Warren ticket lost the state, despite the great popularity of Mr. Warren, largely because the Dewey-Warren campaigners had made the mistake of alienating some of the real powers in the Republican Party in California. The President may have to pay a high price indeed if he insists on the renomination of Mr. Nixon.

If Eisenhower decides not to run again, and Nixon by some stroke of luck becomes the next President of the United States, you can count on one thing. Murray Chotiner will be the Man to See.

RUSSIA'S NEW LEADERS

Rise of the Technician . . *by Merle King*

WHO makes the important decisions in the Soviet Union? For the past two decades there have been three popular answers—(1) Stalin, (2) Malenkov, (3) persons shrouded in mystery and obscured by enigmas. Two of the guesses can now be decarded.

If we are willing to curb our appetite for names and personalities and be satisfied with a description of the type, we can identify the Soviet decision-makers fairly accurately. The available data suggest that despite the persistence of the legendary version of the Communist leader, the man who participates in crucial decisions today has not been a life-long professional revolutionary. He is not primarily an agitator or a seasoned manipulator of verbal symbols—facility in expression is not required. He does not—as Lenin did—enter "journalist" as his occupation on his party card. Unlike Communist intellectuals of an earlier era, he shows no strong personal slant toward a literary or broadly humanistic orientation. At the same time, his background is not that of a semi-literate peasant or a rank-and-file soldier or an unskilled worker. Nor does his literary output—in contrast with Stalin's, for example—reveal an intense absorption with ideological controversies.

The modern Soviet decision-maker is first of all a technically trained specialist. Specialized competence is the outstanding common trait of those who occupy important posts in the U. S. S. R. Evidence for this conclusion is available with regard to the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and education. Much of it can be found in the columns of the Soviet press as translated into English in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, published by the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies in the United States.

The most powerful party leaders meet in the party congress. Of the 1,192 voting delegates at the last congress, held in 1952, 709 had graduated from an institution of higher education and 84 had studied at such an institution. The 709 who had graduated included 282 engineers, 68 agronomists, zootechnicians, and related agricultural specialists, 98 teachers, 18 economists, 11 physicians, and 7 lawyers. Sixty-five delegates had received higher degrees. "Such a large proportion of trained specialists in various branches of economy and culture," reported N. M. Pegov for the Credentials Committee, "shows once more that in our country educated people who know their work well and are capable of advancing it are highly valued and boldly promoted." Among the fifty-eight Stalin prize-winners at the Congress, Pegov also noted, were "prominent workers in science and technology."

Reports to the congress on the composition of local party organizations stressed the number of technically trained intellectuals. D. G. Smirnov pointed out that whereas in 1939 there were 6,532 Communists in Gorky Province with higher as well as secondary education, by 1952 there were 34,000—although the total membership of the provincial party had only tripled. About 80 per cent of party and Soviet executive officials in Gorky Province, according to Smirnov, had benefited from "higher, incomplete higher, or secondary education." Similarly in the Leningrad party organization, according to a statement of A. I. Kozlov, "about 80 per cent of the administrative officials now have had a higher or incomplete higher education, and in Leningrad all the district secretaries have had a higher education."

A leading member of the Moscow party organization revealed more explicitly the kind of higher education which is valued in the Soviet Union today. After reporting that 70 per cent of the secretaries of district and city party committees in Moscow had had a higher education

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and that the remainder had gone through secondary schools, he said: "The office of secretary of the party unit at industrial enterprises is generally held by engineers or technicians familiar with production."

The composition of the party body with the greatest responsibility for the initiation of policies, the Presidium—formerly the Politburo—reveals the same emphasis on specialization. Two recent additions to the Presidium, M. Z. Saburov and M. G. Pervukhin, have concentrated in the fields of economic planning and eco-

Khrushchev

nomic administration. Even some of the senior members of the Presidium have developed different functions based on specialized knowledge: Molotov, foreign affairs; Khrushchev, agriculture; Kaganovich, transportation; Mikoyan, trade.

The Young Communist League values the same qualities as the party. When the twelfth congress of the league convened last year, the Credentials Committee called attention to the presence of 578 delegates (43.8 per cent) with higher and incomplete higher education and of 395 delegates who were "studying in higher and secondary educational institutions while holding jobs." "The Young Communists," the committee observed, "elected as delegates to the Congress leading young representatives of the intelligentsia."

LIKE the party, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. contains a steadily increasing percentage of intellectuals. Since the adoption of the present constitution in 1936 there have been four elections for the Supreme Soviet. The resulting changes in its social composition are shown in the following table:

Year	Workers Pct.	Peasants Pct.	Office Workers, Intellectuals Pct.
1937	42	29.5	28.5
1946	38	26	36
1950	32	20	48
1954	24	16	60

In the present Soviet of Nationalities, a division of the Supreme Soviet, 294 deputies out of 639 have a higher education and 51 an incomplete higher education; in the Soviet of the Union 357 deputies out of 708 have a higher education and 44 an incomplete higher education. Perhaps more significantly the Soviet of Nationalities now includes only 133 workers and 106 peasants; the Soviet of the Union, 188 workers, 114 peasants, and, in the words of the chairman of its Credentials Committee, "406 representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia—engineers, technicians, officials in party and Soviet organizations, workers in science and culture."

Whereas the Supreme Soviet meets infrequently and in brief sessions, the Council of Ministers exercises continuous responsibility for applying and elaborating decisions which originate in the Communist Party. It is in the Council of Ministers that the identity of party leaders and high government officials is most apparent; seven of the nine members of the party Presidium are members of the Council of Ministers. Examination of the available data on the qualifications of the ministers again discloses the premium placed on *expertise* in the operative Soviet system. After Malenkov's resignation as chairman, the Council of Ministers was extensively reorganized under Bulganin. In his capacity as secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, N. M. Pegov reported to the 1955 session of the Supreme Soviet on the changes in personnel. Repeatedly he stressed the technical competence and experience of the new ministers. For example, he said of the new Minister of Transport Construction: "Comrade Kozhevnikov worked from 1936 to 1945 as chief engineer and director of a number of large construction projects"; of the new Minister of Urban and Rural Construction: "Comrade Kozyulyu is a professional construction engineer, highly experienced in urban and rural construction"; of the new Minister of the Merchant Marine: "Comrade Bakayev has had more than twenty-five years' experience in constructing and operating shipping facilities"; of the new Minister of Power Plant Construction: "Comrade Loginov is a hydroelectric engineer. He was in charge of constructing the Chirchik hydroelectric stations in the Uzbek Republic."

In describing the appointments to the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R. Pegov again stressed the new members' education and professional experience. All of them, he said, "have completed their higher education in law and have had considerable administrative experience in agencies of Soviet justice." In an earlier day the proletarian origins and revolutionary services of these new officials would have been cited.

THE prominence of the specialist in party and government reflects the Soviet emphasis on specialization in education. There has been no counterpart in the U. S. S. R. of the campaign in behalf of general education carried on by some professional educators in the United States, for whom Robert Hutchins has been spokesman and philosopher. When *Pravda* takes notice of the commencement month of June, it boasts: "The higher educational institutions of the country are graduating new contingents of young specialists."

Soviet concentration on scientific and technical training has recently received considerable publicity in the United States, and ominous comparisons have been drawn. According to some estimates, the Soviet Union graduated 54,000 engineers last year, while the United States graduated but 20,000. Moreover, while the number of engineering graduates in the U. S. S. R. has almost doubled since 1950, the number has declined here more than 50 per cent. Dean John R. Dunning of the Columbia University School of Engineering believes that the Soviet Union already has 80 per cent as many engineers as the United States. The contrast in educational practice in the two countries is seen in the fact that in the United States three Ph.D.s in the humanities are con-

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ferred for every one in the sciences, and in the Soviet Union the ratio is exactly reversed. In Soviet secondary schools also a large part of the curriculum is given over to compulsory courses in the sciences and mathematics.

The political position of scientific and technical personnel differs appreciably in the U. S. S. R. and the United States. In the United States scientists, despite their prestige, have mainly an advisory or tangential influence on political decisions. Official decision-making continues to be dominated by lawyers—more than half the members of any Congress have a legal background. Unofficial decision-making is heavily infiltrated by persons skilled in public relations, advertising, and personnel management. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, scientists, engineers, and technicians have been absorbed directly into the mainstream of decision-making.

A report of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs entitled "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," issued in 1948, described those who believe in Communist ideology as possibly "temperamentally more like engineers." Doubtless the comparison with engineers was intended as a figure of speech. Contemporary evidence leads to the conclusion that the new Soviet decision-maker often qualifies—literally—as an engineer.

THOSE BRITISH STRIKES

Symptom of Labor Crisis . . . *by Asa Briggs*

Oxford, England

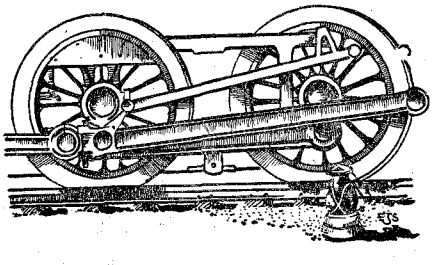
THE British railway strike marked a crisis not only in the British economy but also in the British trade-union movement. The effects on the economy were obvious—immediate slowing down of production, long-term dislocation which will be especially noticeable when coal supplies begin to prove inadequate next winter, and a disastrous diminution of industrial potential just as competing countries are beginning to forge ahead. The implications for trade unionism were less obvious but equally ominous. The strikers belonged to the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, a craft union representing most but not all skilled footplate workers. The National Union of Railwaymen, a large-scale would-be industrial union, did not strike, and its members operated some of the trains that continued to roll. Relations between the two unions had been bad for years and during the strike developed into open hostility. The Prime Minister insisted with reason that a pre-condition of any settlement was an understanding between the rival unions.

From a union standpoint two main issues were involved. The first, to which most attention was given, particularly by the press, was the issue of wage differentials. The Engineers and Firemen demanded the maintenance of differentials based on skill, though the importance of such differentials had greatly diminished in recent years of war, full employment, and social progress. It was not so much the size of the differential that mattered—after all, the sum involved, as one trade unionist said, amounted to no more than the price of a package of cigarettes a week; it was the principle. The leaders of the Engineers and Firemen saw themselves as last-ditch defenders of the principle that a man should receive a premium for special skill and be allowed to bargain separately for what he considered his just claims—claims established not by abstract criteria but by social and economic history. The National Union wished to raise the general level of railwaymen's wages, to cooperate with the British Transport Commission in reducing the number of grades, and to retain differentials, of a modest kind, only where they corresponded to the facts of employment.

The second issue was what kind of union organization was to prevail in the future. The National Union wanted to include all railway workers, from the girls who sell tea in station cafes to the engine drivers who still consider themselves the aristocrats of the system. Faced with a single Transport Commission it wanted to present a united body of labor. It was against not only the demands of the Engineers and Firemen but the existence of that type of union.

After seventeen days the strike was ended by the government's appointment of an impartial referee who will adjudicate points in dispute. The general conditions of the settlement seem to favor the craft union. The principle of "skill differentials" is recognized, with the amount and distribution to be settled by the referee, and the continuation of the Amalgamated as a craft union is assured.

The issue of craft versus industrial unionism has never been fought out in Britain. There have been many skirmishes but no major campaigns. The question enters also into the dockworkers' strike, which is still going on at this writing. The Stevedores' Union, which would like to become an industrial union of



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all dockers, is trying to break away from the Transport and General Workers' Union, which covers many occupations, skilled and unskilled, and to obtain recognition from the Dock Labor Board. Eventually it would like to represent all dockers in the same way that the National Union of Railwaymen would like to represent all railroad workers. But the Railwaymen and the Stevedores are in very different positions in relation to the trade-union movement as a whole. The National Union is a powerful component of the Trade Union Congress; the Stevedores' Union has been expelled from the Congress, in which the Transport and General Workers' Union plays a leading part. The contest for power within the trade-union movement will affect the ultimate settlement, as it did in the railway strike, more than will considerations of logic.

MANY friends of the trade-union movement are beginning to ask whether the time has not arrived to consider the whole problem of trade-union structure. Would it not be better, they ask, if all unions were organized on an industrial basis? In certain cases this would mean amalgamation, in others federation; in the case of the dockers it would require subdivision of an existing union. It is asserted that if the interests of all workers in an industry were represented by a single organization, there would be greater efficiency and consistency in collective bargaining; trade-union organization would then correspond more closely to organization among employers and public corporations. It is also believed that with the industrial form of organization it would be easier to achieve wage differentials among the various occupations which would relate to the facts of the present rather than to those of the past, and easier to base unions on the workshop rather than on the place of residence. This, it is argued, would be in the interest of the community as well as of the unions. Especially in nationalized industries such a structure would permit adaptation and planning in which both management and workers could take an active part.

Against these arguments there are only the facts of history. The English trade unions are voluntary organizations, born not made. The Trade Union Congress is a central body with no powers of coercion. It has already recommended in an important report—Trade Union Structure and Closer Unity—that there should never be a large number of unions in any particular industry; but the most it can do is persuade, not compel. Above all, trade unionists feel a strong sense of loyalty to their existing unions—this is one of the great lessons of the recent disputes—and any prolonged large-scale attempt to undermine particular trade-union loyalties in the interest of rational organization might be felt to strike at the very feeling which has always cemented trade unionism. How can logic influence such a historical situation?

The problem of future trade-union structure must be solved if only for strategic reasons: the British economy cannot survive a series of inter-union disputes, and unless the Trade Union Congress and the individual unions take action, there will be strong pressure within the government for a far more drastic official policy toward the unions than has been followed since the 1920's. In the Conservative administration before the elections labor problems were handled in a restrained and diplomatic way by Sir Walter Monckton, the Minister of Labor. It would be difficult to maintain the same policy if the advocates of a "show-down" with the unions were to gain ascendancy in the administration because of union rivalries. Political divisions within British labor go deep in 1955. If economic divisions are to be added, the future of Conservative government is assured, and the form of conservatism may lose something of its contemporary "sweet reasonableness."

THE ROMANTIC REBEL

Schiller and Today's World . . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Zurich

THE ceremonies held last month throughout Germany—East and West—to mark the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Friedrich von Schiller provided an occasion both to recall the work of one of the greatest German poets and to apply his philosophy to the Germany of today. With Goethe he represents a period of extraordinary brilliance in German letters; the very fact that his contemporaries disputed which was the greater gives a measure of Schiller's quality. The period produced many writers of stature, such as Herder, Klopstock, Wieland, Jean Paul, and profound thinkers like Kant and Hegel who were to revolutionize the teaching of philosophy and history; so it was surely not in a sky without other stars that these two shone so bright.

Though products of the same epoch, Schiller and Goethe differed greatly in their attitude toward fundamental problems and in the kind of life they led. Goethe, coming from a financially well-established family, was a child of fortune who accepted favors with the air of being the one who granted them. His comfort in any case would have been assured by the protection of a prince whose culture and sensibility made him a most agreeable Maecenas. Schiller, son of a barber-surgeon, rising to the rank of officer in the Wuerttemberg army, grew up under the despotic rule of a duke who had no feeling for the arts.

Surreptitiously, while he was an

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army doctor, Schiller wrote "Die Raeuber ("The Robbers"), a tragedy powerful in conception, striking in form. It tells of the struggle between two brothers—the younger, Franz, twisted and satanic, the older, Karl, noble and victimized by the other's intrigues. Franz steals their father's affection and his brother's share of the inheritance. Nothing stops him; his only aim in life is the gratification of his desires. Schiller uses the generous and persecuted older brother as a symbol of the permanent rebel against injustice. Karl transforms himself into a bandit whose mission is to despoil the despoilers. He appears finally at the gate of the ancestral castle, where Franz, unequal to an honest fight, kills himself. The father dies of grief when he recognizes his son among the bandits. Karl, feeling guilty both of violating the moral law and of abusing his own strength, gives himself up to his judges.

Presented at the Court Theater of Mannheim, "The Robbers" was a tremendous success. But the author, who had appeared at the opening without leave from his regiment, was arrested by the Duke and forbidden to write anything but medical treatises. He fled from Wuettemberg and continued to write. Though often ill and without money, he soon completed two new plays—"Fiesco," an elegy on a Republican conspiracy, and "Cabal and Love," in which the unnatural laws of social classes conflict with the dictates of love and friendship. "Cabal and Love," presented also at Mannheim, was an even greater triumph than "The Robbers."

BUT success did not bring security, and Schiller's personal situation became increasingly difficult. After more than two years of precarious exile he gladly accepted an invitation from some admirers whom he had come to know through correspondence to visit them in Leipzig. His chief friend among them was C. G. Koerner, a man of culture and taste who gave him what he needed most—appreciation and a subsidy that would allow him to devote all his time to poetry and the theater. Out of this period of unforgettable happiness was born the "Ode to Joy," immortalized later by Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony. Koerner's generous friendship sustained Schiller for several productive years, during which he wrote "Don Carlos," among other lasting works.

Schiller

"Don Carlos," an ode to humanity and political liberty, ended the first phase of Schiller's dramatic creativeness. Its outstanding quality is the vehemence with which the author identifies himself with those who suffer. In later works the dialogue would be more realistic and the language more lyrical, but the ideas would never be expressed with greater force.

A visit to Weimar changed the course of Schiller's life. In that city Duke Karl Augustus, a true patron of the arts, had gathered together some of the best writers and painters of Germany, chief among them Goethe. To Weimar, Schiller brought his new work, "Don Carlos," and here he met Wieland and Herder, who, already famous, treated him as their equal. He also met the young woman who later became his wife. Goethe, whom he wished to know more than anyone else, was in Italy.

When Goethe returned to Weimar, Schiller finally met him. Although in the course of their long association the two poets were to become friends, their early conversations revealed a spiritual and temperamental gulf between them. Goethe, who saw reflected in Schiller's tempestuous conceptions and romantic style some of the emotions which had agitated his own youth, regarded this dramatic enthusiasm with barely concealed distaste. Schiller's passion conflicted with Goethe's liking for classical serenity and for the cult of antiquity which was confirmed by his Italian trip.

THE different ways in which Schiller and Goethe reacted toward the great events of their time is illustrated by their feelings about the French Revolution. Goethe was revolted by the masses who assaulted the Bastille and later by the Jacobin rigor of Robespierre and the revolutionary flame which burned in Saint-Juste. Views as to Schiller's attitude are divided. Some of Goethe's unconditional admirers, attempting to justify his feeling toward the French Revolution, assert that it was shared by all the other great thinkers and writers of the time, including Schiller. In reality Schiller warmly defended the uprising of the French people against a frivolous monarchy insensible to their suffering. When revolutionary France, in an appeal to the best minds of other countries, offered honorary citizenship to Schiller and Klopstock, neither declined the honor.

Only when the Revolution, attacked from all sides, had recourse to the Terror did its sympathizers among the German intelligentsia begin to show aversion. Fichte did not turn against it but wrote juridical essays in its defense; nor did Kant, whose searching mind penetrated beyond the painful present and anticipated the priceless heritage the Revolution would leave behind. But Schiller's sensibility could not endure the Terror's ruthlessness. Its violence weakened his basic sympathy. Yet while it would be absurd to describe him as a revolutionary, his position was in no respect like Goethe's. Every now and then his writings show that he was swept away by the ideas of the Revolution.

In "Wallenstein," written while the Revolution was triumphant, and in later works Schiller did not hesitate to extol the effort of natural forces to fulfil their aims. As a moral philosopher, a Kantian ruled by the categorical imperative, he could not accept neutrality in the struggle which would decide the future of humanity. Again, almost at the end

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of his life his feeling for the Revolution shone out in "William Tell." His swan song honored not the powerful but the rebels against them. Its characters, like the Russian nihilists of the past century, upheld their principles by individual deeds when mass action was impossible. In this drama of courage and resistance, Schiller's genius reached a high point.

OF PARTICULAR interest at present, in view of the controversy over the rearmament of West Germany, is Schiller's attitude toward German militarism. After Germany was completely crushed by Napoleon, the poet, instead of bewailing the defeat or preaching revenge, wrote: "The greatness of Germany is not in the hands of her princes. The greatness of Germany does not consist in armed victory but in victory over superstitions and prejudices." Unhappily the same Germans who hailed Schiller's genius and recited pages of his poetry ended by forsaking his ideals and following first Bismarck, then Hitler. This strange ambivalence permitted them to acclaim in the same breath William Tell, the hero of Swiss independence, and Hitler, the supreme protagonist of German aggression. The hymn to virtue easily becomes a hymn to strength. It is a disconcerting change, this jump from the elevated plane on which the noblest Germans dwell to the depths of militaristic barbarism.

Heine wrote of Schiller: "He served the great ideas, destroyed the spiritual Bastilles, raised in the temple of liberty an everlasting altar to the brotherhood of men, was himself the Marques Posa of 'Don Carlos,' at once prophet and soldier, who carries under a Spanish cloak the noblest heart that has loved and suffered in Germany." I suggest that those who project an armed peace based on the creation of new German divisions should reread Schiller.

POLITICS IN THE F.C.C.

The Lamb Case: Act II . . *by Edgar Kemler*

THE dispute between the Federal Communications Commission and Edward Lamb began two years ago when the commission refused to renew Lamb's license to operate Station WICU-TV in Erie, Pennsylvania. The action against Lamb was inspired by Commissioner John C. Doerfer, a Wisconsin Republican and Eisenhower appointee, who charged that Lamb, long known as a New Dealer, had once been a Communist. Lamb had disproved the charge six times during the Truman Administration and now claimed that the Republican Doerfer was penalizing him for partisan reasons. Subsequent developments have sensationally upheld the claim. I reported on Lamb's career and reputation in *The Nation* on June 12, 1954, and predicted that the F. C. C. would regret its action. After fifty-six days of hearings, from September 18 to May 20, and two thousand pages of testimony, no final ruling on Lamb's case has been made, but whatever it turns out to be, the prestige of the commission has been badly tarnished.

EDGAR KEMLER is the author of "An Ethical Guide for New Dealers" and "The Irreverent Mr. Mencken."

Doerfer's position was questioned as early as last June 24, when the Democratic members of the Senate Commerce Committee, at Lamb's suggestion, asked him why he had reopened the case. Doerfer explained that while he had, as yet, found no new incriminating evidence, he simply didn't trust Lamb. "When the whirlwinds blow," he said, the now ardently anti-Communist Lamb might revert to his earlier sympathies and use his broadcasting station to beam Russian bombers to Pennsylvania targets. In view of Lamb's ten-year record of highly responsible broadcasting, this was a shocking suggestion. Worse yet, since there were other New Dealers in broadcasting who had had similar sympathies, it pointed to a McCarthy-type purge of the whole industry. The Senate Commerce Committee made Doerfer promise under oath to give Lamb a fair hearing. Meanwhile, however, his investigating staff must have decided that if incriminating evidence were not available, it would have to be improvised.

This is the key to the otherwise inexplicable story of Mrs. Marie Natvig, the "brainwashed" witness, and her bungling Svengali, Walter R. ("Bucky") Powell, F. C. C. counsel. As a Democratic holdover on the Doerfer-dominated commission, Powell felt he had to play Doerfer's game. Mrs. Natvig played Powell's game because she was a frightened, friendless fifty-two-year-old woman, disowned by her rich mother in Cleveland, her three successive husbands, and her three respectable children. In a recent flier into journalism, she had written a civil-rights editorial for the Homestead (Florida) *News*. This editorial won statewide acclaim but so aroused the local patriots that they threatened to turn her over to State Attorney Brautigam, the Miami McCarthy. By telling the F. B. I. what little she knew about Lamb, she expected to receive protection from Brautigam. When Powell got hold of her, he exaggerated her fears in order to make her contribute to what he described as a "patriotic effort to get Lamb and take his TV station away from him."

Powell's rough tactics had already alienated another witness, Lowell Watson, an ex-Communist. Watson had informed Lamb's lawyers that Powell had made him testify about Lamb's membership in the suspect International Labor Defense as if he had first-hand knowledge of it, though he had only learned about

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it from Powell himself. But this was mild compared to Powell's manipulation of the susceptible Mrs. Natvig, who testified from September 24 to October 6. His first problem was to get her to Washington where she could be served with a subpoena. This he did, apparently, by promising her that if she would go, there would be no subpoena. To justify this tactic, the subpoena was made out, not for Marie Natvig, but for Mary Jones and Jane Doe, her two pseudonyms. When Mrs. Natvig found herself trapped, she complained bitterly, but later, after Powell had threatened to betray her to Brautigam, she became his compliant, sometimes eager partner. The questions and answers of her direct testimony were rehearsed so often, she later revealed, that "she could no longer differentiate between fact and fiction."

Ironically, if Powell had been interested in clearing Lamb, rather than "murdering the bum," Mrs. Natvig might have made a plausible witness. In 1935-37 she had been a secretary of the Cleveland Farmer-Labor Party, which means that she was close enough to the Communists to know their local leaders and yet detached enough not to be dominated by them. Had she actually been a Communist, as the Justice Department now maintains she was, surely the F. B. I. would have known about it and made some objection when her son-in-law was cleared of the charge. Had Lamb also been a Communist, the pair would have met regularly at the state-wide party functions. Yet on the very few occasions when they did meet, Lamb was busy, she said—he says he doesn't remember meeting her—not with party matters, but with the organization of the then fashionable, now suspect National Lawyers Guild, in which he is still publicly "glad and proud" to have played a part. This was her story. But by the time it was rewritten in Washington Mrs. Natvig was converted from a half-starved fellow-traveler into a full-fledged Communist, eating caviar and drinking champagne at Stalin's expense. Lamb was introduced to her as "Comrade Lamb from Toledo who is doing such an excellent job for the party." Their casual acquaintance was inflated into a love affair.

About October 1 Powell told Doerfer that at long last a Whittaker Chambers had been found for Lamb's Hiss. Perhaps those were not his exact words. But certainly he had consulted Chambers's "Witness" on the fine points of the Communist background, and almost certainly he told Mrs. Natvig that Lamb was a "red plant" in broadcasting "more dangerous than Hiss." Unfortunately for Powell, this *ersatz* Chambers was so transparent that Lamb's vigorous lawyer, Russell M. Brown, demolished her as soon as she took the stand. On January 12, when she read over an official transcript of her testimony, she said: "It was as if I had awakened from a nightmare.... Where did I get such phrases? . . . Only an idiot would have credence in anything I said."

AFTER Mrs. Natvig's turnabout, which she announced on February 9-10, Brown declared that the commission's case against Lamb had collapsed. But the F. C. C. lawyers refused to admit defeat. (Powell had by now taken a job with the National Association of Radio-TV Broadcasters.) Furthermore, they said, no court or Congressional committee would condemn Powell's handling of Mrs. Natvig. Already, in a moment of weakness, Mrs. Natvig had asked them "to tell Bucky I'm sorry I had to do it." By February 24 she was back on the commission's side, writing a partial recantation of her recantation. In mid-May Attorney General Brownell had her indicted for perjury—not for her original testimony but for taking it back. She was tried and convicted.

Brownell was obviously more interested in punishing Mrs. Natvig for her defection from the government side than in vindicating Powell. Her example had led other ex-Communist informants to become balky, and a stampede had to be prevented above all things. As it turned out, Powell was stricken with a heart attack in the midst of the excitement. When a court-appointed physician examined him in May, he was still too weak to testify. Thus the whole embarrassing issue of Powell's interviewing Mrs. Natvig was eliminated, and Brownell's lawyers could concentrate on the easier question of whether she had introduced herself to Powell as a full-fledged Communist or merely as a fellow-traveler. Defiantly, they set out to prove the former, and with the F. B. I. witnesses on their side and Mrs. Natvig too discredited to take the stand, they won their case.

Whether or not "Bucky" has been vindicated, the Natvig testimony and recantation have given the public a brief, unforgettable glimpse of how Republican partisanship bars truth and justice from the F. C. C. Apparently the revelation has hurt rather than helped Lamb's relations with the commission, and not merely with Doerfer but also with the other members. Yet if this disturbs him, he has shown no sign of it. He says that if they finally decide he is too dangerous to operate Station WICU-TV, he has so many legal remedies ready to hand that the present members of the commission will have left Washington before these remedies have been exhausted.

A McCarthy Bridgehead

Broadcasting-Telecasting, the outstanding publication in the radio and television field, came out with the editorial statement: "The man whom Federal Communications Commission Chairman George McConnaughey has drafted as his engineering aide turns out to be a former trusted investigator for Senator McCarthy. That fact was omitted from the official biography released by the commission. . . . He is Christian E. Rogers, Jr., lawyer and ex-broadcaster, who served with the Republican National Committee during 1948. . . . While on the McCarthy staff from March to August, 1953, investigator Rogers spent much of his time probing into F. C. C. files and pending cases. He was detailed to the F. C. C. study at the time Senator McCarthy was incensed over the commission's handling of the plea by Hearst's WISN station, Milwaukee, for an educational channel there, and at the time when the Senator was known to be interested in the background of Edward Lamb. . . ."

Today the three members of the F. C. C. appointed by President Eisenhower are known to be friends of Senator McCarthy — Chairman McConnaughey, Robert E. Lee, and John C. Doerfer. The McCarthy bridgehead on the F. C. C. is powerful.—The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin, May 3.

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BOOKS

History, Psychology, and Romance

THE PARKMAN READER. Selected and Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

By Kenneth Rexroth

ONLY a few nineteenth-century American novelists outrank certain historians as literary artists, as minds of power, depth and scope. But since the nineteenth century was a leisurely one, these historians' works are long, and the length has frightened off many modern readers who, book by book, at odd intervals, have managed to get through the complete works of Hawthorne, Mark Twain, and Henry James. Parkman's great history fills fourteen volumes in the commonest edition. I do not believe in pocket-book abridgments and selected passages, but nowadays only a limited number of adults are likely to take the time to read it all.

Samuel Eliot Morison, as one might guess from his name, is a product of the same milieu as Parkman. He shares many of Parkman's prejudices, and is as unaware of them. If there has to be a "Parkman Reader," he is certainly as good a man as any to put it together. It is necessary, however, to take his preface with a grain of salt. He speaks of Parkman as a literary stylist worthy of respect. As a matter of fact, only when he was caught up in the circumstantial rush of his narrative did Parkman write well. His passages on the beauties of the forest primeval, the savagery of an Indian war dance, or the vices of the little provincial court at Montreal are rather comic reading today. Although he set out to deflate the legend of the noble savage, whole pages might well have come from Chateaubriand's "Atala," illustrated by Gustave Dore.

KENNETH REXROTH, author of many books of poetry, will bring out this year translations of Japanese, Chinese, Greek, and French poems. He conducts a radio book-review program over the San Francisco station KPFA.

John Fiske, who introduced the last collected edition, speaks of Parkman's people as being far more real than Prescott's. Morison shares this view. Prescott's Mexico and Montezuma resemble the "Arabian Nights," it is true. But this is realism. They really were like that. Parkman's heroes are moved by the highly stereotyped motives of a sort of Puritan Ivanhoe.

Again, Morison speaks of Parkman as a gentleman and an aristocrat. He may have been a gentleman, but he was certainly not an aristocrat. He was a bourgeois valetudinarian. Whether Procopius, H. G. Wells, or Motley, the historian usually injects much of himself between the lines of his history. But Parkman comes close to having written a fourteen-volume invisible autobiography. He came from a rich, upper-middle-class family of Boston Brahmans. He seems to have been thoroughly indoctrinated in the liberal but none the less "puritan" Puritanism of Unitarianism and advanced Congregationalism. He was expected to make his way in the world, but early in youth he started going off to the woods. In college he took several long trips in the New England and New York backwoods; then a walking trip across Sicily and much of Italy as the beginning of a year on the Grand Tour; then a trip far out on the Oregon Trail, where he traveled as a guest with the Sioux.

In later life Parkman was to attribute his variously described incapacitating illness to incidents on all three of these excursions. One way or another he always blamed his poor health on the strenuous life of his youth. What seems to have happened is that, at first casually in Sicily and Naples, and then in all its glory at the headwaters of the Missouri, he met his Id, and it was too much for him. The memory of the abandoned, dark-eyed signorine by the Porta Capuana and the naked Sioux belles disporting themselves in the Missouri prostrated him for the rest of his life.

The thesis of "France and England in North America" is that drinking, running around with women, rising late, and loafing in the woods must and should go down to defeat before the righteous onslaugh of the forty-eight-hour-day, the well-kept savings account, patriarchal domesticity, well-shined shoes, and cold baths. During the nineteenth century this was probably true, but the nineteenth century is a very brief period in the long history of man. It is doubtful whether this moral struggle had much to do with the defeat of France in the New World. French America was lost in Europe.

Parkman was horrified and also fascinated not only by Frenchmen but by other Europeans. He speaks of the quasi-aristocratic Dutch on the upper Hudson as boors—aristocrats of course are always pretty boorish in the eyes of merchants. That thoroughly feudal personality of his period, Sir William Johnson, the "Father of the Iroquois," he looks on as nothing but a rascal. He never mentions the Quakers without losing his temper over their obstinacy and pacifism. The type that wins is the go-getter.

RECENTLY we have seen in American history "the rehabilitation of the business community." The business community is the avowed hero of Parkman's history. In his pages appear the archetypes of the nineteenth-century robber barons and the twentieth-century hypomanics who grace the covers of the news weeklies and who, alas, to judge by the news weeklies, rule the United States.

But Parkman didn't break down and become a life-long neurotic because he was a good business man. He was a man in profound conflict with himself. Again like Milton, his heroes are unconvincing and his villains are heroic. Except at the top, where no sane men want to be, it is doubtful whether the Puritan tradition has really been as decisive in American culture as the scholars of Yale and Harvard would like us to believe. I was born a stone's throw from the La Salle monument in South Bend, Indiana. In my childhood we fished in the rivers of the voyageurs and took buggy trips to visit relatives in towns named Ligo-

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nier and Vincennes. There were family reunions in the heart of the Miami Indian country. The dialect poet, Drummond, visited my grammar school and recited his doggerel tales of the "river French" of the Middle West. In adolescence I took a canoe trip down the Kankakee River, past villages whose *habitants* spoke only French, and another down the Mississippi from Prairie de Chien to St. Louis, past river shanties where pearl fishermen and lotus pickers were named Sublette, Le Sueur, and Des Larieurs, and where the mansions on the hills were occupied by their richer relatives.

All Americans are not those monsters portrayed by Artzybasheff, men who rise at 4 a. m. and bring home a briefcase full of homework at 3 a. m. the next morning. The systematic conquest of the old Northwest by red-coated soldiers and land speculators has moved few boyish hearts, even in New England. But the story of the boats of Champlain poking their way into the dark leafy wilderness, the heroic death of Father Jogues, the pathetic death of La Salle, the joyful portages of Marquette and Joliet—even the cognac, riot, and abandoned women in besieged Montreal—are as moving as the tribulations and defiances of Milton's Satan. And these traditions are still powerful, however quiet, in the land.

It is the spiritual conflict in the author, as well as his reading of history as a war between two basic types of personality, which gives Parkman's work its power. The archetypal struggle gives it epic character. The personal conflict gives it the intricacy and ambiguity of a psychological novel. The real subject and background—redskins, redcoats, and chevaliers—give it the fanfare of high romance.

PARKMAN is very far from being a Homer or a Proust or even a Scott, but he does combine—perhaps in cheaper colors but on a canvas of tremendous scope—the virtues of all three. I first read Parkman with a chill along my scalp when I was but in skirts—or at least in short pants—and I've read him all several times since. Opening Morison's "Reader" to the map of Quebec and seeing the caption "The Plains of Abraham" and the words of Montcalm and Wolfe, the same old chill comes back.

Near the end of the last volume of his history, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," in words that echo Melville, Parkman sums up the real, not the putative, moral of his life work:

> . . . To him who has once tasted the reckless independence, the haughty self-reliance, the sense of irresponsible freedom, which the forest life engenders, civilization thenceforth seems flat and stale. Its pleasures are insipid, its pursuits wearisome, its conventionalities, duties, and mutual dependence alike tedious and disgusting. The entrapped wanderer grows fierce and restless, and pants for breathing-room. His path, it is true, was choked with difficulties, but his body and soul were hardened to meet them; it was beset with dangers, but these were the very spice of his life, gladdening his heart with exulting self-confidence and sending the blood through his veins with a livelier current. The wilderness, rough, harsh, and inexorable, has charms more potent in their seductive influence than all the lures of luxury and sloth. And often he on whom it has cast its magic finds no heart to dissolve the spell, and remains a wanderer and an Ishmaelite to the hour of his death.

Mr. Morison does not include this passage or anything like it in his selection.

Ovid's Authentic Charm

OVID: METAMORPHOSES. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Indiana University Press. $3.95, cloth; $1.75, paper.

By Richmond Lattimore

MR. HUMPHRIES'S talents as a translator are simple, admirable, and easily stated. He handles a rapid, fluent iambic line which carries the reader along at a good pace, sometimes seems to pitch him headlong, and yet will stand analysis without disintegrating. His ear is good, though not flawless. He reads as if he had not only written fast poetry but written it fast. Sometimes he has forgotten to count his feet, or his syllables, or counted them wrong, joggles his reader or makes him stumble. The whole effect of this English poem is a little rough; the rhetorical and metrical finesse, the precision, is gone, partly because the language *is* English but partly because it is Mr. Humphries's English.

At the same time the translation is less often sticky and prolix than the original. The construing is faithful enough to satisfy most; the cost of the shorter, faster line is some meaning and some structure lost. The English is also far less literary than the Latin; when the translator tries to be racy as well as informal he seldom improves matters. But faults of taste, faults of ear, sense, and architecture, are made up for by the simple speed which makes most readable what a more ambitious translation might make, or has made, unreadable. Better still, there are bursts of sheer lyric poetry.

Though in some ways so different, Mr. Humphries pretty well answers to the ups and downs, charms, astonishments, repulsions, fustians, sentimentalities, and constant story-telling skill of Ovid. He writes badly, I think, where Ovid does. There are passages, like the battle scenes with Perseus and with the Centaurs, which he has said he found "sadistic"; he obviously does not like them, and he does not do them well, but for these frozen horrors—not so much sadistic as tastelessly rhetorical, ghastly and unbelieved woundings no two alike—Ovid is fully responsible. More depressing, to me, is the picture of men, women, and gods which comes out of the first half. All Ovid's charm is needed, and all his translator's, to mitigate the reader's growing disgust with these brutal assaults and vengeances by vicious and stupid gods: in the glades of Arcady a Jupiter with the brain and morals of a sex maniac lurks behind every tree, and Diana and Minerva are less swinish only to be still more cruel. Yet again the charm comes out, in the large, as in the truly moving story of Philemon and Baucis and a Jupiter finally grown

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up, or in Achelous remembering his wrestle with Hercules, so robust and human by contrast with the preposterous horrors of the weapon fights. And charm is there in detail, in metamorphosis, the living metaphor, the true stuff of lyric. The charm can lapse. "I am driven," so ponders Ocyrhoe, "To canter over meadows, and for food/Grass is my craving." Better, for instance, is the change of Phaethon's sisters:

> And then the bark closed over
> The last words each one said, but still their tears
> Kept flowing down. till, hardened in the sunlight,
> They turned to amber, and the shining river
> Receives them, bears them on, to be the jewels
> Of Roman brides, hereafter.

Best of all are the occasional magnificences, seldom a part of the main theme, that burst almost by accident along the trail of the story:

> Atlas, Iapetus' offspring
> Loomed over all men in his great bulk of body.
> He ruled this land and the sea whose waters take
> The Sun's tired horses and the weary wheels
> At the long day's end.
>
> And when the horses
> Feel them across their backs, and none to check them,
> Bolting, they charge the air of unknown regions,
> Wherever impulse hurls them, lawless, crashing
> Against high stars.

This seems to me to be true translation, and true poetry.

Both Freedom and Planning

THE CHALLENGE OF SCANDINAVIA. By William L. Shirer. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

By Donald J. Blake

WILLIAM L. SHIRER'S Scandinavian diary is filled to the brim with facts, figures, and general information about the northern democracies of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland presented in digestible and highly readable form. Against a background of geography, resources, and history, the author describes the experiences of each of the four countries in the recent war and the current situation in terms of defense, alliances, and global strategy. On the civilian front he investigates parties and politics and economies—including labor-management relations, the co-ops, private and government enterprise, housing, social welfare, and taxes. He also takes up what he calls "the prevalence of culture"—the important place of education, the arts, literature, the theater, and music in modern Scandinavia.

Shirer is at his best when he recounts the fast-moving events of the war. Once again we are led through the Nazi attack on Norway and Denmark and the nightmare of the war in Finland. Much of this is familiar, but it is told with an eye to the whole. Some of the material on Denmark and Finland is probably new to American readers. Shirer tells the story of the Danish ambassador in Washington, Henrik Kauffman, who made it possible for the Americans to utilize Greenland during the war—despite the attempts of the "free" Danish government in occupied Copenhagen to repudiate the agreement. He gives the essence of the Finns' position between their Soviet foes and their Nazi "allies."

Though Shirer reminds himself and his readers that he is trying to be "fair," his inability to understand the Swedish point of view shows through. He tells us how the Swedes maneuvered with infinite dexterity—and uncommonly good luck—to prevent being overrun. When they felt it necessary to make concessions, they did so—serious concessions greatly straining the quality of neutrality. As the tide turned and Nazi power ebbed, they were able to resist Hitler's demands. The "bad conscience" from which Shirer claims the Swedes suffered is not particularly appropriate. The facts presented indicate that Sweden contributed more aid to its Scandinavian neighbors than it could have as a combatant.

Perhaps a third of the book deals with the war and the related problem of NATO strategy in relation to Scandinavia. Shirer believes the Swedes are not being very realistic in staying out of the Atlantic Pact. He discusses the dilemma of Norway and Denmark, which though members of NATO cannot bring themselves to allow NATO forces to man bases on their soil. Had he examined more closely the pressures exerted by powerful allies on small countries, he might have come closer to understanding why Sweden has remained outside the pact. He cites a Dane as saying: "Sure, you will eventually liberate us . . . only this time there will be nothing left to liberate." Perhaps the Swedes suspect that this applies to the aid NATO might find it expedient to send if a member nation were expendable in the scheme of global strategy.

THE most impressive challenge in Mr. Shirer's view is the social welfare provided for Scandinavian citizens. Shirer tells exactly what the Scandinavian family gets in maternity and child care, health and medical insurance, pensions, and other benefits. He tells how the social-benefit systems work, what they cost, and how the costs are defrayed. More than this, he makes it clear that these schemes need not—and in Scandinavia, do not—mean restricting the freedom of the individual. Under the health-insurance programs, for example, the patient has his choice of doctor. Moreover, a basic desire for freedom is satisfied by making adequate health care a right and not a favor bestowed by the state on the needy.

Freedom, Shirer found, is not inconsistent with economic planning, Social Democratic governments, or strong labor unions—at least not in countries where labor accepts political and economic responsibility instead of resorting to pressure-group tactics. Political freedom, too, exists despite proximity to the Soviet Union. There is no hysteria. There are no witch hunts. Communist parties are treated—and defeated—democratically.

Understandably, perhaps, the book is weakest when it takes up Finland. In many ways Finland is inaccessible. Most of the material pertains

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to the country's tragic fate during the recent war and its reconstruction under the burden of Russian reparations. This is well presented, and valuable as far as it goes. The discussion of the Finnish economy is inadequate. Finnish industry has developed enormously since the war to meet Soviet demands for industrial products. Although agriculture still accounted for the greatest number of gainfully employed persons—46.0 per cent in 1950—the figure had fallen from 57.4 per cent in 1940. The percentage of gainfully employed in mining, manufacturing, and construction increased from 18.6 per cent to 27.7 per cent in the same period. Practically all of this shift has occurred since 1945. This extraordinary rate of industrialization has caused economic and social dislocations of dimensions unprecedented in Scandinavia. Certainly the impact of this veritable industrial revolution deserves more thorough treatment.

Nevertheless, "Challenge of Scandinavia" is a worth-while book—worth-while because it deals intelligently with important facts, relationships, and—not least—ideas.

Memoirs of a Political Reporter

A PASSION FOR POLITICS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LOUIS BROWNLOW, FIRST HALF. University of Chicago Press. $7.50.

By George A. Graham

IF YOU are old enough to have known pre-automobile America and if you are fortunate enough to have lived and loved the typical small-town life of that day, this book will bring back the memory of scenes long forgotten. In recounting his experiences from a precarious childhood in an Ozark town through the years as a newspaper reporter and editor in Nashville, Louisville, New York, and Washington and as a feature writer traveling far and wide in search of material, this intense and gifted man brings the past to life. For the young who would like to know the America of the years before World War I, the book is a find.

The author's success in re-creating the past with all the freshness of this morning's newspaper may doubtless be attributed not only to his "photographic" memory but to the fact that it was his business at the time to reduce his observations to written words. Since it was also his habit to talk over the happenings of the day with a wide circle of friends, many of whom were politicians, it is very clear that Mr. Brownlow "was there" and "was looking" when political events occurred that are now found significant. He had his eye on politics—personalities, methods, systems, policies—when many of his contemporaries had their eyes on business. As a liberal Democrat he took sides in political campaigns from his earliest boyhood, but he also became aware of the dilemmas of public policy and the difficulties of implementation which are often ignored in political discussions. This sophistication gave depth and a measure of detachment to his reporting, and it led to a growing interest in administration, the great invisible underbody of the political iceberg.

Like a good serial, the story moves from climax to climax. In childhood and early life Brownlow was handicapped by poor health. He taught himself by reading everything he could lay his hand on, by prying into the life about him, by quizzing his elders, by listening and talking. His strength derived from a driving curiosity, a remarkable mind, and a personality that was more absorbed in the world and its affairs than in himself. Despite repeated setbacks he found increasing success and satisfaction in his career as a journalist. The first volume of his autobiography takes him to his appointment by President Woodrow Wilson to the governing Commission for the District of Columbia, which was to start him off on a new career as pioneer city manager and administrative reformer.

This is not an introspective autobiography. It shows us not Brownlow but the world as seen through the eyes of a man with zest for life and especially for politics.

GEORGE A. GRAHAM is a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University.

Selected New Books

History and Biography

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN. By Mary Proudfoot. Praeger. $8.50 This able and objective "comparative study in methods of development" is also a social, economic, and political guide to the British and American dependencies in the West Indies. Mrs. Proudfoot is economical with her conclusions, but she points out that the price of complete independence for these colonies would probably be greater poverty, since present living standards, low as they are, are partially underwritten by British and American taxpayers.

OLD MEN FORGET. The Autobiography of Duff Cooper (Viscount Norwich). Dutton. $5. In the first half of this book the author remembers a good deal that is not terribly important about his childhood, his career in the Foreign Office and Parliament, his social life, and his marriage to Lady Diana Manners. Duff Cooper's great hour came in 1938 when he resigned from the Chamberlain Cabinet in protest against appeasement. His story of the immediate pre-war period is a real contribution to history, and so is his account of his experiences as British representative with the French Committee of Liberation at Algiers and as post-war British ambassador in Paris.

BENT'S FORT. By David Lavender. Doubleday. $5.50. Charles Bent, who in 1832 built an adobe fort on the Arkansas which became the center of a huge trading enterprise, was no great hand with the pen; nor were his brothers or his associates. With the written records of their deeds so scanty, Mr. Lavender is compelled to qualify many of his statements with such words as "possibly," "probably," "almost certainly." Nevertheless, his account of an important phase in the opening of the Southwest is not only stirring but has the ring of truth.

GORDON OF KHARTOUM. By Lord Elton. Knopf. $6. The pompous, humorless, and long-winded biography of a soldier who ranks nigh among Victorian Britain's notable eccentrics. Intent on painting the portrait of a Christian hero, the author diligently rakes the ashes of long-cold controversies but shows a minimum of insight into the personality of a man who was clearly a schizophrenic genius.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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Theater

Robert Hatch

THE adaptation of "The Trial" which is now being shown by Theater 12 at the Provincetown Playhouse is a skilful text, intelligently performed. Aaron Fine and Bert Greene have distilled as much from Kafka's novel as can well be brought to a stage—they fudge a little by supplying a narrator to bridge material they *can't* get on the stage—and the cast, notably Gordon Sterns as Joseph K., comes as close to meeting a reader's expectations as the illustrations in a novel ever do. Anyone in urgent need of a dramatization of "The Trial" will do well to rent this text and if possible engage this company.

But the question is why anyone should feel such a need; or, to put it another way, why so capable a group as Theater 12 should be impelled to so unpromising an enterprise. It seems to an outsider that the non-commercial theater has an enviable variety of dramatic material to choose from and need not strain to stage work never meant for the purpose. Perhaps "The Trial" has an odd box-office appeal in the sense that readers baffled by the novel will seek out the play in hope of enlightenment. They will be disappointed. The play is simpler to the extent that a great deal has been left out. But it is no clearer, and for all I know may be even more obscure.

For all I know, because I have by no means grasped all that Kafka intends to say in "The Trial." It seems to me likely that K.'s case is his life, that the verdict he seeks is vindication for having lived, and that the trial persists only because K. persists in asking a kind of spiritual assurance that the world does not at present provide. Also the novel is a foretaste of bureaucracy gone totalitarian, and it is couched—and couched with surprising brilliance—in the cloud-logic of a dream. But I am only a reader—not a student—of Kafka, and I recognize that there are levels of religious, psychological, and social comment in "The Trial" which elude me. I come back to the book because its virtuosity fascinates me and because K. is like a strange, half-familiar brother.

These attractions were dimmed in the play. It is clear, I guess, that the action simulates a dream, but Kafka's alarming insight into the mechanisms of all our dreams is gone. He establishes it in the novel with many precise small observations, often asides and unexpected juxtapositions, that cannot be preserved in direct dialogue and certainly cannot be translated into stage equipment. The novel contains two camps: K. and the people of his waking world—his housekeeper, his uncle, Fraeulein Burstner, the personnel at the bank, and so on—who are "real" even though seen in the askew mirror of a dream; and the officials and familiars of the court, who, though perhaps suggested by K.'s experiences, are not disciplined by his familiarity with their daytime deportment. The two groups behave differently, though the difference is often subtle, and this might have been indicated in the play but was not.

K. on the stage seems a particular man fighting for his physical freedom in the cruelest circumstances. The play, thus, swings toward the drama of protest, a style that dates almost as soon as it is written. The novel concerns deeper dissatisfactions and will not date at least in our epoch.

BEFORE another theater season comes into town it will do playwrights and the play public good to read Walter Kerr's "How Not to Write a Play." If nothing else, it will make them argue back, and that is therapeutic.

Mr. Kerr, drama critic for the New York *Herald Tribune*, is worried because the legitimate theater is dying. So are a great many other people, but none, to my knowledge, has offered so neat or striking a diagnosis of the sickness—Ibsen and Chekhov. These two playwrights, says Mr. Kerr, set the style for the theater of our day; it is an unpopular style because Ibsen and Chekhov deliberately spurned the broad public and addressed themselves to an elite. Inevitably they and their followers have driven the mass audience to more rewarding amusements; inevitably, also, the craft of playwriting has declined, for the minority theater is incapable of producing a great play.

This is startling information. Ibsen was not seeking wide support for his advanced social ideas, and "The Cherry Orchard" is not a great play. At least Mr. Kerr will not offend with platitudes.

The dramatists whom he admires are Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Moliere, and all three, he notes, wrote from the groundlings up. He urges contemporary writers for the stage to forsake their disdainful nineteenth-century models and be guided by the generous impulse of these more successful showmen. The advice is unassailable; it is an excellent thing to write like Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Moliere.

I cannot avoid the suspicion that Mr. Kerr has framed his overall diagnosis with an eye to its journalistic effect. When he gets down to details, he is more cogent and less spectacular. Ibsen started the fashion of the theater of social responsibility, in which burning issues crowd out living people; Chekhov fosters the cult of drama in limbo, in which the subtleties of character are lovingly evoked in a static situation. Without admitting that "A Doll's House" is without human interest or that "The Three Sisters" is devoid of movement, we may agree that the modern theater is on the one hand too hortatory and on the other too moody.

As he gets farther along in his analysis, Mr. Kerr brings in other factors that are less attributable to Ibsen and Chekhov than to the temper of the time: that Ibsen and Chekhov—to say nothing of Shakespeare, Sophocles, and Moliere—were somewhat the product of *their* times is a point he never considers. Our theater has been too much concerned with actuality—with speech that could pass as well in an office as on a stage, with real eggs cooked on a real stove and eaten with real satisfaction. This, as he says truly, slows the show to a laggard pace—in two hours of theater you get two hours of life and that, from the viewpoint of entertainment, is not much.

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It puts value on identity instead of general recognition and ignores the fact that art is the selecting and heightening of experience.

As a reaction against the over-specific, we have sometimes fallen back on allegory. But morality plays are not natural to us, we do not really think in these primitive abstractions; so we must hide our Vices and Virtues in plausible commonplaces: Death is known as Mr. Smith and carries a large train dispatcher's watch; he talks, however, in cosmic platitudes suitable to his real identity. Thus we make a great mystery of our little mysteries.

Mr. Kerr raises other points—the reverse plotting of the "well-made play," the fear of change and particularly of violent on-stage action, the contempt for exciting incident, and so on—all of which undoubtedly contribute to the ennui of the present theater. Above all, he says, the stage now needs to recapture its trust in the shorthand of conventions and must invent a language that is at once economical and richly evocative. Prose will serve novelists who have the leisure to mold their effects. But the playwright has no time: the theater is—or should be—a full gallop from 8:40 to 11:00. The solution is obviously verse, and Mr. Kerr's parting advice is that the theater should return to dramatic poetry. Our playwrights must become once more instinctive poets, intoxicated by the panorama of life, composing for the pleasure they take and the pleasure they give, appealing to the broadest appetites. They may be vulgar and they may be banal, but if this course is persisted in the audience will return, and the theater, securely rooted in majority approval, will again put out fabulous fruit.

Well, perhaps, though it sounds over simple. I doubt that any playwright can act on the advice to be universal; just as I doubt that Ibsen and Chekhov meant to snub the populace. Circumstances dictate a great deal. At any rate, a writer with a good story to tell and the gusto for telling it is always welcome on Broadway. Mr. Kerr wants more of them and so do we all.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

SOMEONE who can't afford the cost of the equipment I described last week can have sound of fine quality by getting the 12-watt Brociner Mark-12 ($98.25), with amplifier and preamplifier in one small chassis, and the Bozak 207-A speaker-combination ($76.50), retaining the Fairchild cartridge ($37.50) arm ($29.50) and Thorens motor ($59). For its 207-A Bozak makes a cabinet, the E-300 ($75), with an interior space of 5 cubic feet, which Bozak now gives as the minimum for the 12-inch woofer. But my experts adhere to the earlier Bozak minimum of 6 cubic feet; and anyone who can, should make or have made a cabinet of the infinite-baffle type I described last week, with an interior space of that minimum amount. For what those experts describe as "resistive acoustic back-loading of the speaker-cone" they recommend that a piece of 1-inch thick, ¾-pound density Aerocor Fiberglas be stapled across the speaker-frame with a hole cut out for the speaker-magnet, and that a 1-by-4-yard piece of the Fiberglas be cut into pieces approximately 3 inches square, with which the interior of the cabinet should be lightly filled (they recommend Fiberglas because of its even absorptive rate at different frequencies). Cost of components without speaker-cabinet approximately $300, or $337 with second cartridge for 78 rpm.

Further savings—with inevitable lessening of quality, but not below the level of good sound—can be made by substituting one or more of the following: the new 10-watt Brociner Mark-10 amplifier ($75), which astonished me with the way it sounded; the Altec-Lansing 600-B speaker ($42), or the G.E. A1-400 ($41) (which I haven't heard but which has been reliably recommended); and last of all the G.E. cartridge with diamond stylus ($20), which can be used with the Livingston Universal arm ($18.75) if one intends to use only the LP cartridge, or with the Clarkstan 213 arm ($22) if one intends to use a second cartridge for 78s. The motor remains the Thorens; and the speaker goes into an 8- or at the very least 6-cubic-foot cabinet either lined with Fiberglas or filled with whatever amount the manufacturer of the speaker considers correct for speaker and size of cabinet. Cost of components, with all the substitutions, approximately $215, or $238 with two cartridges (I advise against the dual-stylus cartridge).

That seems to me to be the minimum cost of the minimum good in sound. Concerning anything less I have no personal knowledge, and can only mention that a Cambridge reader, who I think can be believed, reported hearing an assemblage he found surprising for its low cost of approximately $120 for these components: the Radio Shack (Boston) Realist amplifier, G.E. dual-stylus cartridge in a Livingston arm, G.I. 3-speed motor, and RCA SL-12 speaker.

The same reader reports that the Radio Shack Realist ($40) is a good

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moderate-priced FM tuner. And I can report that the Harmon-Kardon A-100 ($59.50) or A-200 ($69.50 for better-looking chassis) is a good moderate-priced AM-FM tuner; and that the A-400 ($89.50) is as good an FM tuner.

This seems to me the right point to speak with enthusiasm of Vox DL-130, "This Is High Fidelity," comprising a booklet written by Tyler Turner and a record on which he lets the reader hear some of the things he speaks of. I am enthusiastic about the way he presents much of the material on the record: when he tells the reader-listener perfectly reproduced sound requires a wide frequency-range that is correctly balanced he lets him hear in reproduced passages of music the effect of narrowing and widening the range, the effect of treble with insufficient and then sufficient bass, of bass with insufficient and then sufficient treble, the effect of peaks at various points in the range and of smoothing out these peaks. And if I am less enthusiastic about his demonstration that the wide frequency-range must be free of distortion, it is because here for the most part he doesn't use the same admirable method of presentation: only in two instances does he let the reader-listener hear the distorted sound and then the sound free of distortion; in the others he presents only the sound free of the distortion he describes in words, without letting the reader-listener hear also the same sound distorted in the described way.

The record further illustrates some of the material in the booklet about the nature of sound and the way a performance is recorded; in addition it demonstrates the sounds of the entire orchestra, each of its component groups of strings, brass, and woodwinds, and each instrument in the group. And the booklet concludes with a section on reproducing equipment which is of little practical value to the ordinary reader even when it is correct. There is no use in telling him that a sapphire stylus should be changed occasionally because the damaging wear progresses quickly and undetected: he has to be told after how many hours' use or after how many 12-inch sides it should be changed. There is no use in telling him to try out and compare components under all sonic conditions and at great length in stores where the conditions for correct and sufficient testing and comparison usually don't exist—where, that is, components may be faultily connected (not always by accident), other customers are waiting to get at these components or are trying others, and salesmen are exerting pressures on behalf of what they want to sell (an engineer told me of being in stores and standing by in horror and rage at the atrocious-sounding equipment that salesmen were pressuring their bewildered customers into buying). What the reader needs is specific recommendations of components; and even then he will have to fortify himself to withstand the salesman's pressure to buy others.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

all civilized lands, and to substitute for it the concepts against which we and Americans fought together when the Nazis and the Japanese militarists threatened all we hold dear. The vast majority of my countrymen certainly do not believe that the American people will allow their reason and courage to be submerged as those of the Germans and Japanese once were.

SOONG CHING LING
Shanghai (Madame Sun Yat-sen)

More on Guatemala

Dear Sirs: David Graham's otherwise lucid piece on the state of affairs in Guatemala in the May 21 issue contains one statement which should not be permitted to pass unchallenged: "Fortunately for Guatemala, Castillo Armas seems honest and conscientious."

One of Castillo's first acts after being lifted into power by the United States Department of State was to invite discussions with several large independent and three monopoly oil companies. Geologists who have prowled the country have long been convinced that Guatemala is a potential Venezuela. Several hundred million dollars is all that is needed to level the jungles and bring the dream of black gold to reality. The paltry hand-out Castillo Armas needs to avert national starvation and rebellion is only the immediate goal of this "honest and conscientious" statesman. He is interested in bigger loot. And *Standard of Ohio looks like the fattest* uncle—better than official Sam.

Mexico, D. F. JOHN BRIGHT

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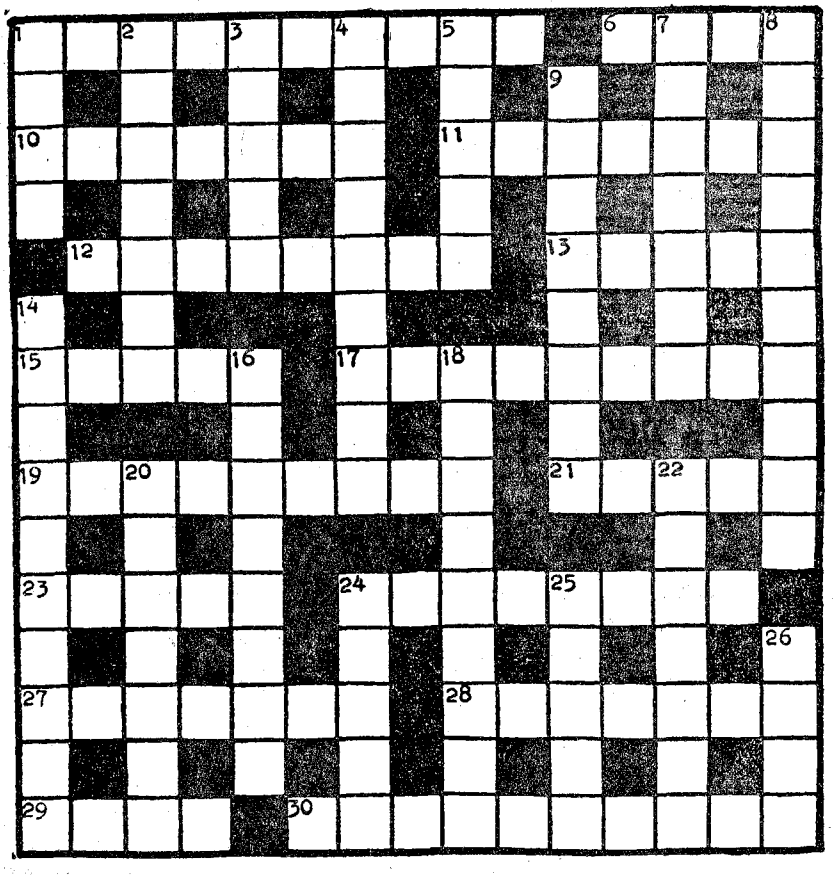
Crossword Puzzle No. 626

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Doze in front of the family circle at table, perhaps. (6,4)
6 See 26 down.
10 Where one might dig up an automobile? (7)
11 Such things should roar for a long time in the rank. (7)
12 Ties up a person in music, no doubt. (8)
13 Samurai, not as changed as an actor. (5)
15 Tips, but not of the toes! (5)
17 Settles, as an unexciting version. (9)
19 Did his stories take 144 minutes to tell? (9)
21 See 4 down.
23 Nothing before a sort of 10 with propellers. (5)
24 Fix? (It's rather useless, sometimes.) (4,4)
27 They might follow an act or scene. (7)
28 Never in a soothing syrup, certainly! (7)
29 and 9 down What might make an hour fly? Sleep! (It's inviting, too.) (4,8)
30 Tell the one who did without bowing! (4,3,3)

DOWN

1 Sounds like a pinging in the shaft, perhaps. (4)
2 Equal share? 29 and 9 to food! (7)
3 I'd get sick inside when it comes up with the story. (5)
4 and 21 Unfortunately, this puts joints in a swell condition. (9,5)
5 and 18 Sheer fabrication! (5, 9)
7 One sort of leaves 11 in a preceding but uplifted condition. (7)
8 Do they swear before someone, or just appear before him? (10)
9 See 29 across.
14 A distinguishing peculiarity. (10)
16 Prescribed colors? (8)
18 See 5 down.
20 Sheepskin. (7)
22 Cover clearly or speciously. (7)
24 Mates, in a social rather than diplomatic sense now. (5)
25 Throw out of joint, when it comes to a sense of value. (5)
26 and 6 Turn over the palm? A doctor might advise it! (4,4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 625

ACROSS: 1 MIDGET; 4 ADJUTANT; 10 RAWHIDE; 11 AMIABLE; 12 and 29 across MATCH POINT; 13 RAN; 14 NIECE; 15 ARENA; 17 BACK-BITE; 21 FULL WELL; 28 OHM; 30 FIGMENT; 31 IMAGINE; 32 SATIATED; 33 LOGGIA. DOWN: 1 MARIMBAS; 2 and 5 DOWN THE DRAIN; 3 EDITH; 6 and 26 UNION CARDS; 7 AMBIENT; 9 BEARABLE; 16 ALL; 18, 8, 28 down, 23 COLUMBIA THE GEM OF THE OCEAN; 19 BOO; 20 ANATHEMA; 22 and 29 UPRIGHT PIANO; 24 ELIDING; 25 SCUFFS; 27 SHEBA.

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